# CONTACTS BETWEEN ITALY, MACEDONIA AND ASIA MINOR DURING THE PRINCIPATE\*

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ABSTRACT: In this paper, the author discusses some non-imperial nomina which are attested during the Principate in the area of Greece, especially Macedonia, and the possibilities to establish the origin of the people who have these nomina. Attention is also drawn to the fact that many of these names are also attested in Asia Minor; considerations on the possible consequences of this will conclude the paper.

The aim of this paper, which discusses some Latin nomina attested, usually in epigraphic sources, during the empire for Macedonians (or at least for people living in the Roman province of Macedonia, including the "Illyrian" part of the province on the Adriatic; cf. below n. 1) with Roman citizenship, is twofold. On one hand, I am going to try to find out whether something could be said concerning the ultimate Italian origin of some persons, or at least concerning the origin of the nomina of these people. On the other hand, I wish to point out that many nomina, including rare ones, which are known to have been used by people in Macedonia ('Macedonia' in this case, and throughout the paper, referring to the Roman province, not only to Macedonia proper) also appear in sources from Asia Minor, this observation possibly indicating that people may have moved from Macedonia to Asia Minor and vice versa.

The choice of Macedonia was brought about by the fact that Macedonia is from the point of view of the student of Roman onomastics a most interesting region. During the empire there were quite a few Roman citizens living in the cities of Macedonia. This is, of course, something which is common to most provinces of the Roman empire at this period. But what makes Macedonia so special is the great number of those rare and often even unparalleled nomina which one finds all over Macedonia. For an eastern province where Greek was spoken this is really quite remarkable, especially when one considers the fact that only a part of the interesting nomina can be attributed to the

existence of the Roman coloniae, and further, that one finds rare nomina also in inscriptions of the second and third centuries, which at first sight seems to indicate that people may have been moving from Italy to Macedonia even at this period. The special onomastic interest of Macedonia emerges clearly if one compares it with, for example, Thrace or even with most areas of the province of Achaea. Of course one finds Roman citizens in these regions. too, and even people with interesting nomina, but my impression is that there are not so many as in Macedonia. In the Greek world during the empire, it is only in some areas of Asia Minor that one finds something comparable, for instance in Ephesus and Cyzicus, cities which both offer much material for Latin onomastic studies. Since this material is at least partly also of interest for Macedonia, this is precisely why we shall be keeping an eye also on Asia Minor in this paper.

But there is another reason for the choice of Macedonia for my subject. The last decades have seen the emergence of a keen scholarly interest in Macedonia, including the Roman period, and this has resulted in the publication of a great deal of work which, again, has put the study of Macedonia on a totally new basis. In the last twenty years or

\* I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Argyro Tataki for having read an earlier version of this paper and for numerous corrections and references. Dr. Tataki is of course not to be blamed for the remaining errors and misunderstandings.

so, scholars have been offered a great number of editions of inscriptions, monographs and articles on Macedonia which greatly facilitate further studies on different aspects of this region.

Of course I am not really an expert on Macedonia, and thus I am by no means thinking of saying something of general interest on Roman nomina in Macedonia. This is a subject treated much more competantly by Argyro Tataki, who of course knows the source material and its problems far better than I do. On the other hand, because of its interest, I have, in the past, been trying to make some notes on the Macedonian onomastic material relating to the Roman period and thus feel that I am not altogether a stranger to Macedonian studies, at least as far as the Roman nomina go. Of course I am trying to avoid topics to be treated by Dr. Tataki, but if there is something in my exposition also treated by Dr. Tataki, I hope that this will be taken to indicate the interest and the importance of the material rather than as an unnecessary duplication of scholarly work.

But the main reason for me for trying to say something on Roman nomina in Macedonia is the fact that I have, in the last years, been keeping an eye on nomina and their distribution, not in any certain area, but throughout the empire, slowly acquiring the feeling that I may well have some useful information on the overall distribution of Roman nomina. This made me think that it could be a good idea to compare Macedonia with Italy and with Asia Minor, and I can only hope that the results turn out to be of some interest.

Before entering into details, let me start by pointing out some useful aspects of having some information on the attestations of nomina throughout the empire. Studies on the distribution of nomina often concentrate on a certain city, area, province or complex of provinces, and this certainly seems the right way to pursue a study of this kind if one's point of view is that of the social historian. But if one, at the same time, constantly keeps an eye on all the material as represented by sources coming from all over the Roman world, important observations may emerge. For instance, names which seem strange or even suspect may become acceptable, and names which seem common may become most uncommon. Let me illustrate this with a couple of

examples. On Rheneia there is a funerary stele published by M.-Th. Couilloud in 1974 (Les monuments funéraires de Rhénée 91) and dated by the editor to the first century AD. The name of the deceased is given as follows: Πόπλιος Φιλικίνιος/ Ποπλίου υίὸς "Ανιος. The nomen of the man seemed strange to the editor and to other scholars<sup>2</sup> and there has been a stronge urge to "emend" it. But in fact there is nothing strange about this nomen, for there happen to be people called Filicinius in Madauros in Africa3. However, there do not seem to be attestations of this nomen from Italy (or from anywhere else), and so it is in no way possible to suggest an ultimate origin for it; but at least the attestations from Madauros show that it is better to keep the nomen as it is rather than trying to produce a man called Fl(avius) Licinius or the like. The connection between the man attested on Delos and the people in Madauros of course must remain uncertain.

<sup>1.</sup> For epigraphic corpora, cf. especially IG X 2, 1 containing the inscriptions of Thessalonica, and A. Rizakis and J. Touratsoglou, Ἐπιγραφές Ἦνω Μακεδονίας (1985). Further, observe the many important studies published in the series Meletemata, many of them by M. B. Hatzopoulos, sometimes in collaboration with L. D. Loukopoulou; this series also includes the monographs by Argyro Tataki (cf. below n. 4). Then there is the book on Les villes de Macédoine à l'époque romaine by F. Papazoglou (1988); the collections of papers delivered at the colloquia on Ancient Macedonia held since the early seventies; and the valuable collection of papers on Thessalonica published in 1988 by the Archaeological Museum. As for the boundaries of Roman Macedonia, I am following the exposition of F. Papazoglou in ANR W7, 1 (1979) 302ff., according to which the province comprised Macedonia proper, the "Illyrian" part on the Adriatic, and the island of Thasos. (In fact, the province seems to have comprised also Samothrace, cf. W. Eck, in Religio Deorum. Actas del coloquio internacional de epigrafia. Culto y sociedad en occidente [Barcelona 1992] 157 n. 40.)

<sup>2.</sup> E.g. G. Daux, BCH 108 (1984) 400ff.

<sup>3.</sup> ILAIg. I, 2146. 2435.

Another use of some knowledge of the distribution of Roman nomina throughout the empire is that names which, to the student of the material from one city or area, may seem common (and thus perhaps uninteresting) may in fact turn out to be most uncommon. For instance, there are quite a few people called Eburenus in Iconium in southern Anatolia and people called *Atiarius* in Philippi. For a student of the names in these two cities another attestation of Eburenus or Atiarius would thus perhaps not be of particularly great interest. But if one looks at the whole empire these two nomina become extremely interesting, because they are otherwise so rare; in fact, as far as I can see, there is not a single attestation of either Eburenus or Atiarius outside Iconium or Philippi (unless one wants to connect Atiarius with Attiarius, a nomen attested once at Aquileia in Northern Italy, for which there may be good reasons; cf. below).

But to return to my subject proper: as I said, the observation that one could find many interesting nomina in Macedonian inscriptions made me think of trying to find out whether one could find a possible origin in Italy for some of these nomina, although I agree with Tataki (Beroea 443) in thinking that it might perhaps be more interesting to find out what kind of people came to Macedonia from Italy instead of asking from where they came. In any case, according to the paper of Dr. Tataki, there are attestations for more than 550 different Roman nomina in Macedonia4. The number includes the somewhat striking nomina ending in -ianus formed from nomina ending in -ius which seem to be fairly typical of Macedonia<sup>5</sup>, and also those nomina which are used as single names, as e.g. in the inscription from Styberra of AD 74/5, SEG 38 (1988) 679 (cf. 680), where a Δίκαιος Πετιχίου is mentioned. As far as I can tell, Peticius does not seem to be attested otherwise in Macedonia, but the fact that Tataki is correct in taking the inscription from Styberra as an attestation of the Roman nomen in spite of the fact that it is in fact, up till now (things may well change with new finds), attested only as a single name, emerges from inscriptions in which a nomen is used both as a real gentile name and as a single name<sup>6</sup>.

Among the nomina in Macedonia, there are of course many of those which are common every-

where. We thus find *Domitii* and *Valerii* whom one encounters everywhere, although it is true that some nomina which are usually very common in the provinces seem to be somewhat less common

4. Cf. above p. 107. There do not seem to exist many studies on (or at least of interest to the study of) the nomina attested in Macedonia. Most important are the monographs by A. Tataki, Ancient Beroea. Prosopography and Society (Meletemata 8 [1988]; referred to in this paper as "Tataki, Beroea") and Macedonian Edessa. Prosopography and Onomasticon (Meletemata 18 [1994]; referred to as "Tataki, Edessa"). On Thessalonica, observe the article by A. Rizakis in Ancient Macedonia IV (1986) 511ff., and on the population of the Roman colonies that by F. Papazoglou, ŽAnt 40 (1990) 111ff. There are also many studies by D.C. Samsaris (e.g. Dodone 17 [1987] 354ff. on Cassandrea, Makedonika 26 [1987/88] 308ff, on Thessalonica, ibid, 27 [1989/90] 327ff. on Beroea). However, this last author's point of view differs from mine in that he concentrates on the more common nomina, often explaining them as being derived from Roman officials (in this I think he sometimes goes too far, e.g. when he suggests that the Larcii in Thessalonica may have something to do with a legate of the province of Asia, Makedonica 26 [1987/88] 345). Furthermore, his interpretations of epigraphical texts are sometimes not altogether satisfactory (e.g. that of an inscription from Serrhae mentioning a family of Firmii, Klio 65 [1983] 151ff. no.1; id., "La vallée du Bas-Strymon à l'époque impériale", Dodone 18 [1989] 247 no. 55; cf. SEG 35 [1985] 1846; L.D. Loukopoulou, in Poikila [Meletemata 10 (1990)] 174ff.; M.B. Hatzopoulos, BullEp. 1992, 300). This of course does not mean that I do not consider Samsaris' studies as useful.

5. Cf. A. Tataki, above p. 108. However, one finds these nomina also in Asia Minor and in other parts of the Greek world; cf. Arctos 18 (1984) 97ff., where I suggest that in most cases the explanation is that during the empire some Greeks simply preferred the ending -ianus, e.g. Turiis tarting to call themselves Turiani (there are both Turii and Turiani—this being a nomen—in Beroea: Tataki, Ancient Beroea no. 1249ff.). One might, however, have some doubts about nomina like Primillianus (SEG 27 [1977] 274 = Tataki, Ancient Beroeano. 1136f.) and Nepotianus (IGX 2, 1,543. 550).

6. Cf. A. Tataki, above p. 106. Observe Demitsas 234 (Heraclea Lyncestis), where both a  $\Gamma$ . 'Αλφίδιος Μαρύσλος and a certain 'Αλφίδιος Κρίσπου are mentioned. Note also that besides many *Tadii* (*Tadius* in this case being a nomen) attested on Thasos (and in Thessalonica and Dyrrachium; cf. below n. 15) one also finds a certain Τάδιος Βρόντου (*IG* XII 8, 471B).

in Macedonia than elsewhere; for instance, there do not seem to be not very many Sulpicii, and Pompeii also seem to be somewhat less well represented in Macedonia than in, e.g., Asia Minor. Then there are of course also quite a few Iulii, Claudii, Flavii etc., i.e. people with imperial nomina, who in most cases reflect citizenship grants by the emperors. These nomina, although sometimes not easy to interpret, will not interest us any further at this point. As for the origin of the non-imperial nomina in Macedonia, we shall, as in the case of other provinces, have to distinguish between three categories. First, there are the nomina which reflect immigration, mostly from Italy. Secondly, there are nomina which are derived from Roman officials who in some way assisted a provincial non-citizen when he applied for Roman citizenship. Thirdly, there are also nomina which were in some way fabricated.

The last category is of course mainly typical of Gaul and Germany, where *Bassii* may in fact not be members of the Roman gens Bassia, but descendants of someone who had in fact been called Bassus, and where Veratii may in fact have a Gaulish, not a Roman nomen8. In the East, however, one does not find much of this, which in a way is a relief, for one prefers to deal with genuine Roman family names which must have a history. It is true that I am not altogether sure what to do with nomina like Nepotianus and Primillianus (cf. note 5), and the auxiliary soldier C. Sertorius C. f. - sive Cetrizis Besidelti f. - in the inscription from near Serrhae (published and interpreted by L.D. Loukopoulou in *Meletemata* 10, 1990, 185) may well, when he decided to start to use a nomenclature of the Roman type, simply have chosen a Roman nomen which happened to please him. But nomina like these are, at least in Macedonia and in other eastern provinces, rather marginal cases.

As for the second category, nomina derived from Roman officials, we all know that, during the Republic, a new citizen chose the nomen of some Roman of some (not necessarily official) status, friends and clients of Pompey becoming *Pompeii* etc. During the empire, it was of course normal to choose the nomen of the reigning emperor, who was responsible for citizenship grants, but (as, again, we all know) some provincial new citizens

preferred to start to use the nomina of Roman provincial officials —and, in some cases, those of other Roman acquaintances 10—certainly in most cases because this official had been helpful when the people in question had applied for Roman citizenship. This is why we find so many Memmii in Greece, reflecting the successful proconsulate of Achaea of P. Memmius Regulus in 35-4411. However, I think that some modern studies (in the case of Macedonia, I am thinking mainly of those by D.C. Samsaris, cf. above n. 4) overstress the number of nomina derivable from Roman officials. Personally I am inclined to assume that it was in fact not very common that new citizens started to use nomina derivable from Roman officials. In the article cited in n. 11, I try to show that only a minority of the proconsuls of Asia, people with some influence at the court (so that one would expect provincials applying for Roman citizenship to have turned preferably to them, not to minor officials), produced new citizens using their names.

As for the Roman province of Macedonia, to return to my subject proper, of course there are also people who owed their names to Romans active in the province. The most representative example of this is surely the many *Insteii* with the praenomen *Marcus* whom one finds all over the province of Macedonia, from Beroea to Byllis, but especially in and around Styberra. From a new inscription from Europos, referred to already in

- 7. Observe that there were *Flavii* at Gonnoi already in the second century BC (B. Helly, *Gonnoi* II 47 no. 42).
- 8. There is now a nice new example of a "fabricated" nomen in *ILNarbonnaise* II *Antibes* 11, mentioning a certain C. Verginius Vergionis f. Vergio.
- 9. Cf. the literature cited in O. Salomies, *Die römischen Vornamen* (1987) 241 n. 231.
- 10. Cf. the case of the author Plutarch, officially L. Mestrius Plutarchus ( $SIG^3$  829A): he has the nomen of his friend, the senator L. Mestrius Florus, but this does of course not mean that one should assume that Mestrius Florus had been proconsul of Achaea.
- 11. I have dealt with some aspects of this in "Römische Amtsträger und römisches Bürgerrecht in der Kaiserzeit", in W. Eck (ed.), *Prosopographie und Sozialgeschichte* (1993) 119ff.

BullEp. 1992, 312, but to be published by P.M. Nigdelis in BCH 1994, we know that a certain M. Insteius, who was previously known as an Antonian officer in the time of the civil wars, was somehow active in Macedonia, even earning himself the title autokrator. There can be no real doubt that the Macedonian M. Insteii (enumerated by P.M. Nigdelis in his article in press) can be connected with this man. Other people with nomina which make one think of Roman senators—but not necessarily proconsuls of Macedonia (for we may in some cases be dealing with descendants of freedmen who had settled in Macedonia)<sup>12</sup>—are e.g. the T. Caesernii and a L. Iavolenus in Beroea, the T. Sextii and T. Statilii in Thessalonica13. (There is a T. Statilius now also at Calindoea14). On the other hand, the Macedonian *Tadii* known to me are either Marci or Publii<sup>15</sup>, and thus do not have the same praenomen as Sex. Tadius Lusius Nepos Paullinus known to have been legate in Macedonia (REIV A 2000f. no. 6), and so one is somewhat reluctant to connect them with the senator.

There were, then, quite a few people in Macedonia with names the origin of which should not, I think, be attributed to Roman officials. Some nomina seem to be typical mainly of one city or area. There is a concentration of Atiarii, Burreni, Marronii, Varinii and Vellaei in Philippi, and an interesting number of *Curiatii* in Edessa (cf. Tataki, Edessano. 173-178). On the other hand, there are also nomina which in a way seem typical of Macedonia and which one finds scattered all over the province. To this category belong e.g. the Cuspidii, the Fulcinii, the Olii and, to mention also nomina which, on the whole, are somewhat more common, the Pontii and the Popillii. That people with the same nomina attested in differents parts of Roman Macedonia should, or at least in theory could, be connected with each other seems to emerge in many cases from the praenomina attested in connection with the nomina. There are P. Antistii both at Styberra and at Dion<sup>16</sup>, L. Nutrii—a most uncommon nomen— and L. Novellii both at Dyrrachium and at Philippi<sup>17</sup>, A. Pontii both at Stobi and at Thessalonica<sup>18</sup>, C. Scirtii both at Styberra and Beroea<sup>19</sup>. On the other hand, in combination with certain nomina one also finds a remarkable variety of praenomina, which in some cases may indicate that people with the same nomen are not necessarily to be connected with each other. This may be the case with the *Popillii*, *Popillius* being a fairly common name in the Roman world. But in the case of less common nomina one cannot be so sure. With an eye on e.g. the *Vellaei* in Philippi using several praenomina, and on the Avii in Thessalonica using (at least) the praenomina Aulus, Lucius and Marcus, one cannot help thinking that the variety in the use of praenomina in combination with certain nomina should in many cases be attributed to the early introduction of a nomen to Macedonia rather than to the existence of several immigrant families using the same nomen coming to Macedonia from different parts of the Roman world. If a Roman moved to Macedonia in, for instance, the early first century BC, or even in the time of Augustus, he would have given his sons different praenomina, for the habit of giving all sons the same praenomen only arose later<sup>20</sup>. If an early Roman immigrant had two or more sons, and many probably had, one should not be worried to find two or more praenomina combined with his nomen in inscriptions referring to his descendants.

- 12. Cf. the attestations, in inscriptions from Asia, of freedmen of Roman senators who had not been proconsuls of Asia (IGR IV 1219 = TAM V 2, 1031; I. Ephesos 4123).
- 13. Tataki, op. cit., nos.  $651f., 567; IG \times 2, 1, 259$  (but there are also L. Sextii, ibid. 504); 158.
- 14. M.B. Hatzopoulos–L.D. Loukopoulou, *Recherches sur les marches orientales des Temenides* I (1992) 93f. no. K 12.
- 15. *IG* X 2, 1, 243; *IG* XII, 8, 321. 323. 383 (for *Tadii* without praenomina cf. *IG* XII 8, 471, B and *AEp*. 1978, 752 from Dyrrachium).
- 16. Styberra: *Chiron* 18 (1988) 255 n. 71; Dion: *ILGR* 180f., *SEG* 34 (1984) 630-32.
- 17. L. Nutrii: CIL XVI 1 (Dyrrachium, AD 52); CIL III 633, II 1, 2 (Philippi). L. Novellii: cf. below at n. 64.
- 18. Stobi: *ILJug.* 1250 (cf. F. Papazoglou, *ŽAnt*41 [1990] 580). 1258 (=*AEp.* 1990, 883); *AEp.* 1990, 884f. Thessalonica: *IGX* 2, 1, 175. 199.
- 19. Styberra: SEG 38 (1988) 681 (cf., for a Λ. Σκήφτιος Τίτος, Spomenik 71 [1931] 157 no. 404). Beroea: Tataki no. 1189.
- 20. Cf. O. Salomies, *Die römischen Vornamen* (1987)

This brings us to the following question: when did people start to emigrate from Italy to Macedonia? The standard monographs on Italian emigration leave one with the impression that during the Republic and even later there were not really many Romans settled in Macedonia<sup>21</sup>, although it is true that the picture changes somewhat in more recent studies (e.g. in that of A. Rizakis on Thessalonica, cf. n. 4; and cf. Tataki, Beroea 439f.). Of course, when the Roman colonies were founded, one starts to find early settlers in them. But in cities like Thessalonica, the inscriptions mentioning people with Roman nomina are, or at least make the impression of being, on the whole rather late, from the second and third centuries AD. Many of these people have quite rare or even unparalleled nomina, which must point to an origin in Italy. For instance, there is a Tessidius in Thessalonica (IG X 2,1,388), of whose nomen —not found outside Macedonia, but of course certainly of Italian origin I was more than happy to find recently a new attestation at Calindoea22. One might, then, get the impression that people could have been coming from Italy to Macedonia, or at least to places like Thessalonica, even as late as in the second century AD and possibly even later, which would be an interesting observation, for the usual assumption seems to be that the emigration of Italians to the provinces mainly took place in the later Republic and during the early Empire<sup>23</sup>.

However, the fact that one finds rare names only in late inscriptions does not necessarily mean that the people with these names had arrived late. As Tataki (Beroea 439) points out in the case of Beroea, one explanation can be the fact that not only at Beroea, but also in other Macedonian cities the epigraphic evidence concentrates in the second and third centuries AD. The case of Cyzicus, which in some ways resembles places like Thessalonica (and of which something will be said later in this paper) offers a lovely illustration of this. In the inscriptions of Cyzicus, one finds quite a few Erucii, but only in documents of Hadrianic, Antonine or Severan date<sup>24</sup>. However, from the Anthologia Graeca we know of an early imperial poet 'Ερύμιος, who is designated as Κυζιμηνός at AG7, 230 (cf. 7, 368), and so it appears that there already were Erucii at Cyzicus in the early Empire25. (Observe also that one seems to find *T. Pomponii* and *Q. Caecilii*, products of the commercial interests of Cicero's friend T. Pomponius —later Q. Caecilius—Atticus, only in inscriptions of imperial date from Epirus<sup>26</sup>).

I would thus be inclined to think that the majority of the nomina in Macedonia which cannot be explained by citizenship grants reflect Italian immigration datable to the late Republic and the early Empire, although I would not like to exclude the possibility that some people may have come later. However, I shall not pursue the matter any further, my subject being the origin of some nomina rather than the period when they were introduced to Macedonia<sup>27</sup>.

- 21. J. Hatzfeld, Les trafiquants italiens dans l'orient hellénique (1919) 54ff., 148; A.J.N. Wilson, Emigration from Italy in the Republican Age of Rome (1966) 150f.
- $22.\,Hatzopoulos\text{-}Loukopoulou\,(cf.\,n.\,14)\,91ff.\,no.\,K\,11,\\ line\,21.$
- 23. Cf. e.g. P.A. Brunt, *Italian Manpower 225 B.C. - A.D. 14* (1971) 159ff., 244ff.; A.N. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship* (1973<sup>2</sup>) 227f.
- 24. *MDAI* (*A*)6 (1881) 181,43f. no. 2 (I; III); 13 (1888) 304-309 (I, col. 1 and 2); 26 (1901) 121-124 (A and B); *I. Kyzikos* I 196.
- 25. Cf. C. Cichorius, Römische Studien (1922) 304. Observe further that an early imperial funerary stele now in Berlin, mentioning a Γάιος Ἐρύχιος Γαΐου νίός, is now in fact ascribed to Cyzicus by M. Cremer, Hellenistischrömische Grabstelen im nordwestlichen Kleinasien 1. Mysien (Asia Minor Studien 4, 1991) 133 no. KN 24. An Erucius is also attested in Philadelphia in Lydia (J. Keil-A. Premerstein, Bericht über eine Reise in Lydien etc., Denkschr. Ak. Wiss. Wien 53, 2 [1910] no. 49). They may have come to Asia Minor from Delos, cf. I. Délos 1769.
- 26. Cf. E. Deniaux, "Atticus et l'Épire", in *L'Illyrie méridionale et l'Épire dans l'antiquité* (1984) 245-254. Cf. also below n. 30 on the *Minii* in Thessalonica: the inscription from Thessalonica is dated by Edson to the third century, but the military diploma mentioning another Minius from the same city is from the year AD 52.
- 27. In spite of this, I cannot refrain from pointing out that there are interesting new inscriptions mentioning early immigrants (e.g. Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou—cf. above n. 14—no. K 4— obviously an early text).

Now, if people were moving to Macedonia from Italy<sup>28</sup>, where exactly did they come from? A few people mention their *origo* in the inscriptions they are known from, although this happens mainly in the case of veterans<sup>29</sup>. But in the case of most people we have no explicit information, and this is exactly why we have to turn to onomastic observations—a method widely used in studies dealing with ancient demography and population.

Of course, not really very much can be said on the basis of observations of an onomastic nature. There are always many people who have a nomen which cannot be connected with any specific area. I am not only thinking of extremely common nomina like Domitius or Valerius, but also of nomina which are relatively uncommon, but for which there are scattered attestations all over Italy and the provinces<sup>30</sup>. On the other hand, there are also people who have a nomen which is so uncommon that it offers no clue whatsoever as to the origin of these people. If the only Aufonius outside Macedonia (IG X 2, 864; XII 8, 487) and Thessaly (IG IX 2, 1057) is a veteran attested (without a mention of the *origo*) at Troesmis (CIL III 6178, 3, 33), and if there are *Tessidii* only in Macedonia, one cannot even guess where the ancestors of the people with these names might have come from<sup>31</sup>.

But there are also some nomina in Macedonia which invite one to speculate on their origin, and a closer study of their attestations in some cases seems to result in the conclusion that one might suggest a probable, or at least possible origin from a certain region, or even from a certain city (as in the case of *Digitius*, cf. below), for them. This comes from the fact that, alongside the nomina for which there are attestations everywhere, and which thus are of no use at all for a study like this, there are quite a few nomina which are or at least seem to be typical of some area—we shall be seeing many examples of this in the following<sup>32</sup>— and which thus can be of some use in trying to find out where provincials with the same nomina may originally have come from. Of course there is no need for me to point out that, when I say that someone in Macedonia who has a nomen which seems to point to a certain area may have come from this area, or may be a descendant of someone originally coming from this area, I am not stating a fact, but

offering a most uncertain, more or less preliminary, suggestion.

In studying individual nomina, I shall start with the southeastern part of Italy, continuing from there to the southwest and then proceeding northwards.

- 28. Of course, some did not immigrate directly from Italy, but settled first in some other area in the east, coming to Macedonia only later; cf. below on the *Aequani*, who are first attested at Patrae and only later in Macedonia. And of course one finds *gentes* attested at first at Delos scattered all around the eastern Mediterranean after the island's decline (cf. Rizakis, art. cit. [above n. 4] 518 on Thessalonica; Tataki, *Beroea* 440f. and *Edessa* 86), although I am not at all inclined to think that all the nomina which one finds both at Delos and in Macedonia should be explained by assuming that we are dealing with people who came to Macedonia from Delos.
- 29. There is thus a *Valerius* from Verona in Dion (Oikonomos no. 57); a *Volcasius* from Pisae and a *Iulius* from Naples in Philippi (*AEp.* 1924, 55; *CIL* III 645). But observe also in Amphipolis *L. Pompilius Eros, negotiator ab Roma ex horreis Cornific(ianis)* (*ILGR* 231); and in Heraclea Lyncestis there is in AD 10a *Marius* with the tribe *Teretina* (*AEp.* 1973, 489), which may point to Latium. Note also a *Cornificius* with the cognomen *Tarantinos* at Cassandrea (*SEG* 37 [1987] 559, 4; but it is unfortunate that there do not seem to be any *Cornificii* in inscriptions from Tarantum).
- 30. Thus e.g. in the case of *Minius*, a nomen attested at Thessalonica (*CIL* XVI1 [AD52]; *IG* X 2, 1, 637; cf. above n. 26). In this case the praenomen of the man in *CIL* XVI 1, *Numerius*, might have been of some help, but I have not been able to trace any other *N. Minius* in the whole of the Roman world.
- 31. There are quite a few other nomina which are known only from inscriptions from Roman Macedonia, for instance Asinatius (ILJug. 1239), Avincilius (BCH 57 [1933] 375f. no. 31), Bullen(i)us (CIL III 667), Castrenus (AEp. 1978, 766), Dastilius (ILJug. 1255; Spomenik 71 [1931] 98 no. 23), Denaeus (IGX 2, 1, 325), Fesius (IGX 2, 1, 68f.), Fideius (BCH 57 [1933] 327 no. 5; 62 [1938] 431 no. 11), Laticirus (Iliria 17 [1987] 106 no. 66), Libucius (CIL III 632), Licetius (IGX 2, 1, 382), Mestronius (SEG 30 [1980] 642), Mofius (AEp. 1930, 50; BCH 58 [1943] 481 no. 31), Sauteius (Iliria 17 [1987] 109 no. 72, 110 no. 73), Titonius (AEp. 1930, 48f.), Virinius (IGX 2, 1, 127).
- 32. But observe also for instance how one single Italian city, Canusium, offers almost all the instances of the nomina *Galbius, Graecidius, Libuscidius* and *Sotidius*.

### A. NOMINA IN MACEDONIA WHICH MAY ORIGINATE FROM APULIA AND CALABRIA

Caelidius. Attested at Stobi (CIL III 8203 = ILS 7177 = I.MésieSup. VI 62, a man from Stobi settled at Scupi; cf. IMS VI 97, mentioning perhaps a freedwoman) and at Heraclea Lyncestis (BCH21 [1897] 162 = Demitsas 248), but otherwise, in the whole of the Roman world, only at Barium (CIL IX 293) —possibly a clue.

Muttienus. Attested at Lete (BullEp. 1953, 112; I owe this reference to Dr. Tataki) and at Dion (in an inscription of AD 36/7 seen by me in 1990). In peninsular Italy, the attestations of this nomen seem to concentrate in the area Luceria - Venusia - Teanum Apulum<sup>33</sup>. (Note also, for what it is worth, that the rare nomen Ocratius, deducible from the cognomen Ocratianus attested at Beroea [Tataki, Beroea no. 1260], appears twice in inscriptions from Luceria: CIL IX 814; AEp. 1983, 243.) On the other hand, Muttienus could also be connected with Northern Italy, for it is attested at Pola (CIL V 8139 = Inscr. It. X 1, 85, a duovir), Concordia (CIL V 1890), Patavium (CIL V 2999) and Mediolanum (CIL V 6046), and one also finds this nomen in Dalmatia, which may possibly point to a connection with N. Italy (cf. below).

Terraeus. In the whole of the Roman world, one finds this nomen only at Thessalonica—and in and around Brundisium, the only praenomen appearing in connection with it both in Thessalonica and in Italy being Numerius<sup>34</sup>.

### B. NOMINA IN MACEDONIA WHICH MAY ORIGI-NATE IN LATIUM, CAMPANIA AND LUCANIA

Agel(I)eius/Agilleius. This nomen appears fairly early in Roman Macedonia, combined with the praenomina Gaius and Marcus (IGX 2, 1, 98, 126 & 13335, 878; Dunant-Pouilloux no. 114)36, and at about the same time one also encounters Agelleii at Ephesus (cf. below at n. 84). In Italy, the attestations seem to concentrate on Lanuvium (CIL XIV 2089, 2136-2138; the man in 2089 is a local notable with the praenomen Gaius); otherwise there are, in addition to some Agileii attested at Rome, only scattered instances from different places (CIL X 6423; IX 2146; XI 2688). One also finds a few instances from some western provinces (cf. TLL I 1323).

Auscius. This nomen, known at Thessalonica (IG X 2, 1, 354), may possibly originate from Latium; outside Macedonia, it is attested only in three inscriptions, once at Rome (CIL VI 18201), once at Ostia (CIL XIV 4761), and once in the ager Albanus (CIL XIV 2333), the woman mentioned in this inscription having the cognomen Aricina, which also points to Latium.

*Bietius.* In the Roman world, this nomen is attested only in Philippi (*BCH* 47 [1923] 63 no. 23) and at Atina in Latium (*AEp.* 1981, 216).

Digitius. Known from an inscription from Thessalonica ( $IG \times 2$ , 1, 320). Otherwise, this nomen is attested at Rome (a few instances in CIL VI) and once at Atina in Latium ( $CIL \times 5068$ ). But in Paestum, this was one of the most common nomina, and is attested in numerous inscriptons up till the 4th century AD<sup>37</sup>, and so I think that the man with this nomen in Thessalonica may well have something to do with Paestum.

Rubbius. The nomen of Rubbia M.I. Regilla at Thessalonica (IGX 2, 1, 380), who is no doubt to be connected with M. 'Pούβιος [sic] Φρόντων at Samothrace (IGXII 8, 220. 221), may originate from Latium; in Italy, it is attested only at Rome (several examples in CILVI) and at Atina (CILX 5103. 5107), and the tribe Publilia of a certain Q.

<sup>33.</sup> CIL IX 444/445 (an early duovir at Venusia with the praenomen Marcus which is also that of the man at Dion); CIL IX 704. 868-870; AEp. 1976, 154. 155; 1983, 239.

<sup>34.</sup> *IG* X 2, 1, 38. 198. 259; *CIL* IX 195-197; *NSA* 1904, 300 no. 1, 2; *CIL* IX 28 from Lupiae.

<sup>35.</sup> For the date, cf. J. Touratsoglou, *Die Münzstätte von Thessaloniki* (1988) 11 n. 41.

<sup>36.</sup> Observe also, at Philippi, L. Ag(---) Venustus, *AEp.* 1923, 89.

<sup>37.</sup> CIL X 477. 483. 493. 494; CIL XVI 95 (military diploma of AD 148, found in Paestum); Mello - Voza, Le iscr. lat. di Paestum 65. 97. 102. 114. The senators with this nomen also no doubt come from Paestum (RE V 544 no. 1-3; PIR<sup>2</sup> D 87, a frater Arvalis in AD 145, for whom cf. Mello-Voza 97).

Rubius (sic) C.f. known from an early inscription from the capital (CIL VI 25505 = I2 1373) also points to Latium or Campania<sup>38</sup>. Outside Italy, the nomen is also known from an inscription from Spain (EE IX 246) and, interestingly, from an inscription from Nicomedia in Bithynia (TAMIV 1, 135: [M.] 'Ρούβιος ['Ιο]υλιανός).

Salarius, a nomen with an interesting history in Greece, for members of the gens, no doubt connected with each other because of the use of the praenomen Manius, appear at about the same time, in the thirties BC, in inscriptions from Chalcis (IGXII 9, 916) and from Thessalonica (IGX 2, 1, 83. 109). Both in the Roman province of Achaea<sup>39</sup> and in Macedonia there are also later attestations of the nomen (at Thessalonica: IGX 2, 1, 58.927, and possibly also 748; at Lete: SEGI [1923] 276, a Manius). On the whole, this nomen is fairly uncommon, although there are scattered attestations of it from all over Italy and even from the provinces<sup>40</sup>. But four Salarii are listed by P. Castrén, Ordo populusque Pompeianus (1975) 215 at Pompeii (and there is also a Salaria at Neapolis in the vicinity: CILX 1507), and one of them has the praenomen Manius, being the only known Manius Salarius anywhere outside Greece. This may possibly mean that the Salarii originated in Pompeii or at least from this area.

### C. NOMINA IN MACEDONIA WHICH MAY ORIGINATE IN SAMNIUM

Aeguan(i)us. This nomen is known at Thessalonica (IGX 2, 1, 628) and earlier at Patrae<sup>41</sup>, so that one assumes that members of the gens came from there to Macedonia (cf. above n. 28). Interestingly, this nomen is also known at Cyzicus (CIG 3663, A; cf. below). In Italy it is attested only twice, at Altinum in the North (CIL V 2192) and during the earliest Empire at Caudium, but because of the tribe Stellatina the man is certainly from Beneventum (CIL IX 2167). The only praenomen attested at Patrae is Sextus (in two of the three inscriptions) which is not a common praenomen, but which happens to be that of the man from Beneventum. So I think that the *Aequani* in the East may originate from this region, where in fact also a pagus Aequanus is known (CIL IX 1455, 2, 2. 6).

D. NOMINA WHICH MAY ORIGINATE IN CENTRAL ITALY (UMBRIA, PICENUM, SABINI, MARSI ETC.)

Betuedius, attested at Philippi (*CIL* XVI 12, AD 71; *BCH* 57 [1933] 362 no. 22) and on Thasos (*IG* XII 8, 319. 471), may originate from Ameria, for it is known there both from early Umbrian (i.e., pre-Roman) and, later, from Latin inscriptions<sup>42</sup>. Otherwise, it is attested only at Rome (a few instances in *CIL* VI; *CIL* XV 890, a brick stamp) and once at Atina (*CIL* X 5148 = I<sup>2</sup> 1535).

Calvenus. The Italian attestations of this nomen, known from an inscription from Thessalonica (IG X 2, 1,538), seem to concentrate in the area north of the Fucine Lake (CIL IX 3538 from Furfo; 3979 from Alba Fucens; 4141 from the country of the Aequiculi). Otherwise, there are only a few instances at Rome (in CIL VI; AEp. 1965, 336 = 1984, 83) and the philosopher from Berytus, L. Calvenus Taurus ( $PIR^2$ C 339). If Calvenus is related to Calvinus, which I think is more than probable, one should note that the latter nomen is attested possibly at Carsulae (written Calvinius: CIL XI 4588) and at Cyzicus (I. Kyzikos 254)<sup>43</sup>.

- 38. Cf. W. Kubitschek, *Imperium Romanum tributim discriptum* (1889) 271: *Publilia* is the tribe of Aletrium, Anagnia and Ferentinum in Latium and of Cales in N. Campania; otherwise, it is the tribe of Verona, which, however, in this case (the inscription being of Republican date) seems less attractive as the possible patria of this man. —The nomen of a certain  $\Delta[\epsilon]$ μμος 'Pωβιος (?—the lectio is said to be incerta)  $\Delta$ έμμου  $\delta$  (IGXII5, 880) is identified with Rub(b)ius by F. Münzer, RE IA 1166, but this does not strike me as a particularly sound idea.
- 39. Agora XV 421, line 23; SEG36 (1986) 414 (Anthedon, a Manius).
- 40. CIL XII 4679 (Narbo); BCH27 (1903) 327-8 no. 33 (Pompeiopolis).
- 41. CIL III 510; ILGR 75; I. Dekoulakou, in  $\Sigma \tau \dot{\eta} \lambda \eta$ . Τόμος εἰς μνήμην Ν. Κοντολέοντος (1980) 567, cf. H. Krummrey, in Studia in honorem B. Gerov (1989) 134ff.
- 42. E. Vetter, *Handbuch der italischen Dialekte* I (1953) no. 229; *CIL* XI 4401. 4447.
- 43. For the rest of the attestations of *Calvinus* (and *Calvinius*) see *TLL* Onom. II 107. Besides Carsulae and Cyzicus, this nomen is known from inscriptions from Rome, N. Italy and from some northern provinces, these instances possibly indicating that in some cases the nomen is to be explained as being of barbarian origin.

Crastinus. There are only three attestations for this nomen; it is known at Dyrrachium (AEp. 1978, 747) and from an early inscription from (modern) Ferentillo near Spoletium in the area on the border between the Sabine country and Umbria (CIL XI 4988 =  $I^2$  2104). In addition, there is a military man of this name of unknown but perhaps Sabine or Umbrian, origin, mentioned in literary sources (RE IV 1681). The ending of the nomen in *-inus* also points to this area (cf. e.g. Spurius Ligustinus ex Sabinis, Liv. 42, 34, 1ff.).

Feronius. As Schulze (p. 165) noticed, this nomen, known from an inscription from Beroea (cf. Tataki no. 1263), appears in Italy mainly in inscriptions from the country of the Sabini and the Vestini and (especially) in Picenum<sup>44</sup>. The cult of the goddess Feronia is also concentrated in this area (Schulze, *ibid.*; G. Wissowa, *REV*I2218; G. Radke, *Die Götter Altitaliens* [1965] 124f.). However, there are also some attestations of this nomen at Aquileia in N. Italy (*CIL* V 760. 807; *I. Aquileia* 3420). Otherwise, there is almost nothing<sup>45</sup>.

*Marsidius*. This most uncommon nomen, attested at Beroea (*SEG* 24 [1969] 498, cf. Tataki no. 866), is otherwise known only in the capital (*CIL* VI 22251; *CIL* XV 1294f. [brick stamps]) and from three inscriptions from Ameria (*CIL* XI 4393 [?]. 4485. 4486).

Naevenus. For this nomen, another rare one found at Beroea (SEG 36 [1986] 595, cf. Tataki no. 914), there is only one attestation in Italy outside the capital (T. Naevienus T.I. Anina in an unpublished inscription now in St. Petersburg), namely at Asculum Picenum (AEp. 1990, 297): possibly a clue. But this nomen also appears at Aequum in Dalmatia (CIL III 9773, Nevenus; ILJug. 738, Naevienus), for the possible significance of which cf. below.

Pompullius, the nomen of Sal. Pompullius Sal. l. Chilo of Philippi (CIL III 675), seems, to judge from its distribution in Italy, to originate in the area treated in this section, for it is known from quite a few inscriptions from the country of the Sabini, Marsi, Paeligni, Vestini and from Umbria<sup>46</sup>, i.e. from an area indicated also by the praenomen of the man<sup>47</sup>. From the rest of Italy, there are only scattered instances<sup>48</sup>. Written Pompulius, this

nomen is known in Rome and, more interestingly, in Asia Minor (*MAMA* VII 304 from Orcistus; *JHS* 32 [1912] 130 no. 17, at Antiochia Pisidiae), but there is perhaps not a connection.

Tifanius, an interesting nomen found in Styberra (AEp. 1979, 559, the commentary referring to further instances), is attested in Italy especially at Tuficum in Umbria, where the praenomen used in combination with it is usually Lucius, i.e. the same as in Styberra (CIL XI 5688. 5712. 5713. 5715. 5716). Tifanus, no doubt to be connected somehow with the form ending in -ius, appears twice at Carsulae, another Umbrian city (CIL XI 4573. 4587). From the rest of the whole Roman world, there is, apart from two instances in CIL VI49, only a somewhat uncertain attestation at Herculaneum (CIL X 1403, e, 12).

Titucius. L. Titucius, a quinquennial duovir at Pella in the time of Augustus (A. Burnett-M. Amandry-P. Ripollès, Roman Provincial Coinage I [1992] 294f. no. 1531-1533), has a nomen which in Italy appears mainly in inscriptions from the country of the Aequi and the Marsi around Lake Fucinus<sup>50</sup>.

- 44. Sabini: *CIL* IX 4230. 4571. Vestini: *CIL* IX 3405. Picenum: *CIL* IX 5071. 5104. 5141. 5735. 5858.
- 45. There are some instances in CIL VI and a signaculum at Naples (CIL X 8059, 301).
- 46. Sabini: CIL IX 4288. 4424. 4626 (= Cordella Criniti, Nuove iscr. di Norcia [1988] p. 212). Marsi: CIL IX 3730; Letta D'Amato, Epigrafia della regione dei Marsi (1975) 44; L. Orlandi, I Marsi e l'origine di Avezzano (1967) 272 no. 20. Vestini: CIL I<sup>2</sup> 3269. Paeligni: CIL IX 3215. 3254. 3255. 3307; Suppl. It. IV Sulmo 81. Umbria: AEp. 1988, 523 (Hispellum).
- 47. O. Salomies, *Die römischen Vornamen* (1987) 88f. 48. Besides some instances in *CIL* VI there is one at Ostia (*CIL* XIV 5074), one from Abella or Abellinum in the area between Campania and Samnium [*AEp.* 1969/79, 633, I: C. Pompullius Eucharistus Abell(...)], one perhaps at Canusium (*I. Canusium* II p. 19 Add. 29), and one at Augusta Praetoria in the north (*CIL* V 6852 = *Inscr. It.* XI 1, 22).
- 49. In both cases (CILVI 5659 and 6887) the praenomen is Sextus, which also may possibly point to Umbria (cf. Die römischen Vornamen p. 158).
- 50. Aequi: CIL IX 3951. 4036. Marsi: Epigrafia ... dei Marsi (cf. n. 46) 40c. 175 (= CIL IX 3902). Otherwise, there are only scattered instances of the nomen; outside CIL VI, there is CIL X 4917 from Venafrum (Narcissus vil. T. Tituci Floriani; observe that the man may have had something to

Uttiedius. The fact that both this nomen and Salluvius are attested at Philippi (Uttiedius: CIL III 7343—and there is an Uttiedia Cleopatra also in Abdera, CIL III 7379; Salluvius: BCH59 [1935] 155f. no. 51), and that there are also *Petillii* in Macedonia<sup>51</sup> makes one think of the polyonymous veteran M. Uttedius Sallubianus C. Petilius Amandus domo Iguvio (*CIL* III 2066 from Salona). In fact, Uttiedius -- sometimes written Uttedius or Uttidius— is a nomen which seems to be most common in Umbria<sup>52</sup>, where one can find it in several cities between Carsulae in the south and Pisaurum on the Adriatic coast<sup>53</sup>. Among the instances there is one of especial interest, CIL XI 6362 = ILS 7364 = G. Mennella —G. Cresci Marrone, *Pisaurum* I (1984) no. 73, an honorific inscription of perhaps Severan date including a list of names, among which there is both a Salluvius and an *Uttedius*, the latter combining his nomen with the cognomen Amandus—i.e. the cognomen of the polyonymous veteran from Iguvium. A connection of some kind seems likely, but be that as it may, I think that one may assume with some probability that the Uttiedii in Macedonia and Thrace may have had something to do with Umbria<sup>54</sup>.

## E. NOMINA WHICH MAY ORIGINATE IN NORTHERN ITALY

Abudius. Attested three times at Thessalonica (*IG* X 2. 1, 244. 259. 744; cf. at Demetrias in Thessaly, *IG* IX 2, 1162), this is in Italy a nomen hardly found outside Aquileia and Istria<sup>55</sup>.

Albonius, a nomen attested at Dion in an inscription seen by me in 1990, but perhaps not yet published, may possibly point to Northern Italy, for outside Rome (two instances in CIL VI) and Nomentum near Rome (CIL XIV 3951) there are attestations for it only in Veleia (CIL XI 1147, 4, 29; cf. fundus Albonianus, ibid. 1, 37. 68), Parma (CIL XI 1073) and Carreum Potentia (CIL V 7499)<sup>56</sup>.

Atiarius, a nomen attested in numerous inscriptions in Philippi (CIL III 633. 650. 702. 706. 14206, 13; AEp. 1924, 48; BCH57 [1933] 370-73 no. 28) is not found anywhere else in the world—unless one connects it with Attiarius, a nomen known from an inscription from Aquileia (AEp. 1962, 173 = I. Aquileia 865).

Capitius. For this extremely rare nomen found in Philippi (CIL III 633, III 2, 5), there is only one other attestation, at Verona (NSA 1965, Suppl. 52 fig. 29).

do with the *Titucii* around Lake Fucinus, for he has a praenomen —one of the less common ones — which appears in three of the inscriptions mentioned above), and a *patella* from Atria, mentioning a L. Titicius *(sic)*, is noted in *CIL* V 8115, 125. Outside Italy one can find a Q. Titucius Silvinus in southern Gaul (*CIL* XII 2749) and, in the third century, the senator Titucius Roburrus, urban prefect in 283 (*PLRE* I 767), whose cognomen definitely points to Spain.

- 51. *IG* X 2, 1, 561; *SEG* 22 (1967) 324 (cf. Tataki no. 1053); *Spomenik* 71 (1931) 157 no. 404 (the wife of a L. Scirtius Titus).
- 52. For the distribution of this nomen cf. S. Priuli, *ArchClass* 37 (1985) 223 nn. 34, 36, 37. There are some *Utt(i)edii* at Rome and Ostia (as for Ostia, add *AEp.* 1988, 200), and also a few in the provinces. In Italy, there is nothing in *CIL* IX and *CIL* V, and only one instance in *CIL* X (5550 from Aquinum; as for 4891, referred to in the index of *CIL* X, cf. *AEp.* 1924, 121). For *CIL* XI covering Umbria, cf. next note.
- 53. Carsulae: CIL XI 4574. Tuder: CIL XI 4727 (with the praenomen Sextus; observe the Sex. Uttiedii in RIU 146 and 147; Tuder, by the way, also offers Petillii, cf. CIL XI 4704, otherwise to be found in CIL XI only at Interamna, CIL XI 4283f.). Iguvium: CIL III 2066 (cf. above). Urvinum Mataurense: CIL XI 6080. 6104. Forum Sempronii: CIL XI 6126, 9. Pisaurum: CIL XI 6362 (cf. above). 6407.
- 54. An origin from the area Umbria Aemilia may perhaps also be suggested for *Ferranius*, a nomen attested now in an early inscription from Calindoea (Hatzopoulos Loukopoulou [above n. 14] 82f. no. K 4); outside Rome and Ostia, this nomen is known only at Ameria (*CIL* XI 7845) and at Veleia (*CIL* XI 1147, vi, 41, colonia Ferrania).
- 55. Aquileia: *I. Aquileia* 743 (= *CIL* V 8322). 2752; *AEp.* 1975, 737 = 1977, 725 (a veteran from Aquileia at Scupi). Parentium: *CIL* V 328. 329 (= *Inscr. It.* X 2, 3.4). Pola: *CIL* V 216 (= *Inscr. It.* X 1, 177). Brick stamps from this area: *CIL* V 8110, 34 cf. C. Zaccaria, *AN*59 (1988) 325; *AAAd* 29 (1987) 514. Because of these instances of the nomen, G. Alföldy assumes most plausibly that the senator Abudius Ruso (attested in AD 34) may have come from Aquileia or Tergeste (*Tituli5* [1982] 332). From the rest of Italy, there is, in addition to two instances in *CIL* VI, only an Abudius at Gabii near Rome in AD 220 (*CIL* XIV 2809). For an Abudia at Nemausus see E. Espérandieu, *Inscriptions latines de la Gaule Narbonnaise* (1929) 438.
- 56. Otherwise I can find only *CIL* VIII 12674 mentioning a certain P. Albonius Ianuarius.

Cusonius, a nomen found quite often at Thessalonica (there are eight Cusonii in IGX 2, 1; add CIL VI 2679; it is also attested at Chalcis in an inscription of early Augustan date, IG XII 9, 916; there is possibly a connection), seems in Italy to be common mainly in the northeast<sup>57</sup>. In central and southern Italy one encounters only scattered attestations (outside the capital —CIL VI; CIL XV 6084—there is only CIL XI 3208 from Nepet and CIL X 1251 from Nola). Interestingly, one also finds Cusonii in the second century in Asia Minor (I. Ephesos 1043. 1145; I. Kyme 42); cf. below.

Galgestes / Galgestius, for which nomen there are two attestations at Philippi (CIL III 636; BCH 47 [1923] 73 no. 30), in Italy appears almost exclusively in inscriptions from Pola and vicinity<sup>58</sup>. From the rest of Italy, and in fact from the rest of the Roman world, I can find only CIL X 5474 from Aquinum.

Iturius, the nomen of a man from Beroea attested on Samothrace (Samothrace 2, 1, 47; Tataki, Beroea no. 640), is extremely rare; there is an attestation at Rome (CIL VI 35503), and a certain T. Iturius (?) of uncertain origin is mentioned by Tacitus (cf. PIR<sup>2</sup> I 62). But in and around Tergeste, one finds a large number of brick stamps signed by the owner of a figlina, P. Iturius Sabinus<sup>59</sup>, and the nomen is also attested in inscriptions from Tergeste (CIL V 622 = Inscr. It. X 4, 123; somewhat uncertain), from Aquileia (I. Aquileia 985) and from Bellunum (CIL V 2036). One may thus perhaps conclude with C. Zaccaria and M. Zupancic, op. cit. (n. 59) 166, that this an Istrian gens.

Liburnius, attested at Edessa in AD 51 (Tataki, Edessa no. 182; a later instance ibid. no. 181) and at Philippi in AD 71 (CIL XVI 12), is a nomen which one can find all over the Roman world, Africa and Spain included, although it is nowhere a very common one. In Italy, the attestations concentrate in the north<sup>60</sup>; in fact, the nomen is not found otherwise than at Rome (a few instances in CIL VI) and at Ugentum<sup>61</sup>. The attestations from Histria may be combined with the fact that there are a few examples of this nomen from Dalmatia (ILJug. 911 from Aenona, 2921 from Alvona) —which reminds one of the Liburni in N. Dalmatia (and, according to Pliny, Nat. 3, 110, in Picenum), although it is not easy to define the relationship be-

tween the name of the people called *Liburni* and the nomen.

Mustius, known from inscriptions from Paeonia (Spomenik 71 [1931] 62 no. 133. 134 = 98 [1941-48] 55 no. 110. 111), is a nomen mainly, but not exclusively, attested in Italy, where one encounters it at Rome (CIL VI), Minturnae (CIL I<sup>2</sup> 2702), Pompeii $^{62}$  and Syracuse (AEp. 1921, 85). But only Venetia seems to offer a number of Mustii which may have some significance, Mustii being attested there at Patavium, Atria and Opitergium $^{63}$ .

Muttienus: cf. above under "A".

Novellius, a splendid nomen found in inscriptions from Dyrrachium (AEp. 1978, 740. 749) and at Philippi (CIL XVI 10, AD 70), the praenomen always being Lucius. In Italy this nomen is not particularly rare, but it seems to be typical mainly of

57. Aquileia: CIL V 909. Opitergium: CIL V 8786. Bellunum: CIL V 2057. Altinum: CIL V 2221. Ateste: CIL VI 2663. 2575 (= CIL I² 2169). Patavium: CIL V 2939. Tregnano in Venetia: NSc. 1893, 131. Verona: CIL V 3310. 3591; NSc. 1893, 13. Brixia: CIL VI 32520, A, 3. Anauni: Suppl. It. 6 Anauni 10. Arusnates: CIL V 3916. 3952. Arilica: CIL V 4011. Some city in the regio VIII (Aemilia): Phlego, FGrHist 257 F 37.

58. Pola: CILV 163. 164. 8141; Inscr. It. X 1,590; ILJug. 433. Aquileia: CIL V 759; I. Aquileia 719. Cf. F. Tassaux, in La città nell'Italia antica (1990) 88f.

59. See now C. Zaccaria (ed.), I laterizi di età romana nell'area nordadriatica (1993) 143f. no. 34-34a.

60. Pola: *CIL* V 193 = *Inscr. It.* X 1,313. Tergeste: *Suppl. It.* 10 Tergeste 22. Verona: *AEp.* 1962, 176b = 1976, 255. Augusta Bagiennorum: *CIL* V 7697. (In the Aemilia:) Placentia: *CIL* XI 1217. Bononia: *AEp.* 1979, 252 = 1980, 482. Ariminum: *CIL* XI 402 = I<sup>2</sup> 3393; *NSc.* 1931, 27 no. 2 = A. Donati, *Rimini antica. Il lapidario* (1981) no. 27.

61. G. Susini, *Fonti per... Salento* (1962) no. 10. A Liburnia (of unknown origin) is mentioned in literary sources (cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> L 167).

62. P. Castrén, *Ordo populusque Pompeianus* (1975) 194; *Atti Acc. Pontaniana* 39 (1990) 371 no. 436.

63. Patavium: CIL V 2822 (a senator, PIR<sup>2</sup> M 759; according to G. Alföldy, Tituli 5 [1982] 339, probably the ancestor of another senator with the same nomen, PIR<sup>2</sup> M 760). 2998. Atria: CIL V 2368; Epigraphica 18 (1956) 69f. no. 41. Opitergium: CIL V 8110, 258 (brick stamp).

the north, where there are *Novellii* especially in and around Mediolanum<sup>64</sup>.

Nutrius, another nomen attested both at Dyrrachium (CIL XVI 1, 52 AD) and, later, at Philippi (CIL III 633), the praenomen being in both cases Lucius, is otherwise attested only at Rome (CIL VI), near Sarsina in N. Umbria (CIL XI 6488) and at Brixia (Inscr. It. X 5, 163, referring to two Nutrii Galli, perhaps brothers, one of whom is called Lucius). The distribution of the attestations may perhaps be taken to indicate a Northern Italian origin for the nomen.

*Pisidius*, an interesting nomen attested in three inscriptions from Philippi (*AEp.* 1939, 198. 199; *BCH* 47 [1923] 73 no. 29), may originate in N. Italy, for it is known from inscriptions from Comum and Altinum<sup>65</sup>, whereas there are otherwise only instances at Rome (*CIL* VI) and a solitary one at Carales in Sardinia (*CIL* X 7691).

Poppius is a nomen known, apart from a solitary instance from Germany (CIL XIII 7098), only at Thessalonica (IG X 2, 1, 417) and at Aquileia (I. Aquileia 1567), this latter attestation perhaps providing a clue to its origin.

Sirtius, found once at Dion (SEG38 [1988] 618), is a nomen for which there are scattered attestations from Italy and also a few from the provinces. But there are three instances of this nomen at Pola, in part referring to people of some status<sup>67</sup>, this again allowing F. Tassaux to include the Sirtii in his list of "aristocratic families" of Istria68, and so one might think that if the man in Dion had Italian ancestors (and this should of course not be doubted). they may well have come from Pola. The problem is, of course, that there is an early imperial Sirtius at Mytilene (IGXII Suppl. 690, from the time of Tiberius), but one could perhaps assume either that some Sirtii moved from Italy to Lesbos, some to Macedonia, or that the ancestors of the man at Dion had moved there from Lesbos.

Trosius. The attestations of this nomen known at Philippi (CIL III 633 ii 2, a P. Trosius Clemens) show such a heavy concentration in Aquileia and its vicinity that it seems more than probable that the ancestors of the man in Philippi had arrived from somewhere in this area<sup>69</sup>.

The survey presented above may, although including much that is very uncertain, be taken to

point to some interesting conclusions. It seems to emerge that quite a few of the people who had moved to Macedonia from Italy came from regions along the Adriatic, which is, of course, quite understandable. We thus found nomina pointing to the southeast, to Umbria and to the north, especially to Venetia in the Northeast. Of course there were also nomina which seemed to point to Latium and Campania, but these are regions which have always been considered as the main areas from which Italians emigrated to the provinces 70, and so one

- 64. Mediolanum: *PIR*<sup>2</sup> N 175; *CIL* V 5555. 5584. 5661 (*AEp*. 1969/70, 203). 5874f. 5902. 5957. 5940. 6011. 6051-55. 6080. 6091. 6101; *CIL* XIII 6967 (and observe also *CIL* XIV 147\* mentioning a Novellius with the tribe *Oufentina*; perhaps not a forgery, cf. *Arctos* 20 [1986] 150). From the rest of N. Italy: Rovigo: *CIL* V 2452. Verona: *CIL* V 3260. 3675-78. 3704. Mantua: *CIL* V 4060. Brixia: *CIL* VI 37220 = *AEp*. 1989, 55. Comum: *CIL* V 5289. To the east of the Lago Maggiore: *CIL* V 5519.
- 65. Comum: *Riv. Arch. Comense* (1927) 83 no. 10. Altinum: *Epigr.* 17 (1955) 3 no. 1.
- 66. In Italy there is CIL VI 26604; CIL XIV 1629 (Ostia); AEp. 1974, 257 (Puteoli); and possibly CIL XI 6450 add. (Pisaurum). Observe also Sertius at Luceria (CIL IX 890), a nomen which one also encounters in a not very early inscription from Athens (IG II/III<sup>2</sup> 2020, 121).
- 67. CIL V 74 = Inscr. It. X 1, 122; CIL V 86,67 (in gradibus amphitheatri); AEp. 1980, 499.
- $68.\,\mathrm{F.\,Tassaux},$  in La città nell'Italia settentrionale in età romana (1990) 97.
- 69. The index to I. Aquileia offers 19 instances, including three in which the accompanying praenomen is Publius, and the nomen also appears in nearby Tergeste: CILV 638. 639.640 = Inscr. It. X 4, 158. 157. 156; CIL VI 2755. Further attestations in this region: CIL V 480 (= Inscr. It. X 3,41), 721, 1890 (Concordia), 2225 (Altinum), 2498 (Ateste), 3051 (Patavium); AEp. 1958, 313 (from Iesolo near Aquileia). There are also, apart from a signaculum at Udine (Pais 1081, 12), many brick stamps signed by members of this gens (CIL V 8110, 147; Tassaux, op. cit. [n. 68] 104; Zaccaria [ed.], op. cit. [n. 59] 149f. no. 72f. 200 no. 3). Observe also Trosii at Celeia, known for its connections with Aquileia (AEp. 1975, 672), and at Delminium and Salona in Dalmatia (ILJug. 168. 2201). The few scattered instances from the rest of Italy and the Roman world are hardly of any consequence.
  - 70. Cf. Wilson, op. cit. (above n. 21) 152ff.

does not wonder if one finds them represented also in a survey of the Roman nomina attested in Macedonia. As for the rest of the western side of the Italian peninsula, one notes the absence in Macedonia of nomina which could be connected e.g. with Etruria. But I would not like to make much of this, for in a study based on material such as that used here it does not seem permissible to use argumenta e silentio.

What struck me as being most interesting was certainly the number of nomina pointing to Venetia. This must mean that quite a few people moved from this area to Macedonia, which I think is a fairly novel observation. In addition to the material presented above, I would also like to point out that the list of F. Tassaux of Istrian "aristocratic" gentes, referred to earlier (above n. 68), contains (on p. 82ff.) quite a few further nomina which happen to be attested also in Macedonia; to mention only a selection concentrating on more interesting names, Tassaux's list includes Acutii, Arruntii, Attii, Aufustii, Carvilii, Cominii, Fulcinii, Mam(m)ii, Minucii, Modii, Petillii, Plotii, Titii and Volusii71. Of course I am not going to assert that all these nomina have a significance from my point of view, but perhaps this list could be taken to strengthen to a certain degree the validity of the observation based on the material presented above.

The importance of people coming from northeastern Italy to Macedonia may also emerge from the observation that some rare nomina attested in Roman Macedonia appear also in coastal cities of Dalmatia; one finds Gavivarii at Byllis72 and Gaviarii (obviously the same nomen) at Lissus<sup>73</sup>, Liburnii both in Macedonia and at Aenona and Alvona (cf. above at n. 60), Marronii both in and around Philippi<sup>74</sup> and at Aequum and Salona<sup>75</sup>, Muttieni both at Lete and Dion (cf. above at n. 33) and at Senia<sup>76</sup>, Naev(i)eni both at Beroea and at Aequum (cf. above under "Umbria"), Ravonii both at Dion and Beroea<sup>77</sup> and in several Dalmatian cities<sup>78</sup>, *Trosii* both at Philippi and at Delminium and Salona (above n. 69). Now, especially northern Dalmatia always had close contacts with northeastern Italy, and one finds early Roman settlers in some of the cities on the coast<sup>79</sup>. The appearance in Dalmatia of nomina attested also in Macedonia may possibly, at least in some cases, be explained by the fact that the ancestors of Macedonian Romans had first moved from N. Italy to Dalmatia, and only from there further on to Macedonia, just as some settlers of Italian origin came to Macedonia from Delos, Patrae (cf. above n. 41 on *Aequani* attested at Patrae)<sup>80</sup> or Mytilene (cf. above at n. 68 on the *Sirtii*). The fact that some of the names attested both in Dalmatia and in Macedonia point to the more southern parts of Italy rather than to the north may perhaps be explained by referring to the well known emigration of Italians from the south to the northeast, especially to the important commercial city of Aquileia<sup>81</sup>.

But it is also of some interest to have a look at Roman nomina in Asia Minor. Even a quick glance at this material allows one to make the observation that there are striking similarities between this and the repertory of nomina attested in Macedonia, which, again, points to the conclusion that settlers of Italian origin may have been moving from Macedonia to Asia Minor and vice versa, which

<sup>71.</sup> Of course one finds also *Arrii, Gavii, Helvii, Marcii, Octavii, Pomponii* and *Postumii* in the list of Tassaux, but these are nomina which one expects to find in any list of names.

<sup>72.</sup> Iliria 17 (1987) 108 no. 70.

<sup>73.</sup> AEp. 1982, 765f.

<sup>74.</sup> CIL III 655. 7335. 14206, 12 (cf. AEp. 1939, 196); BCH 47 (1923) 89 no. 8, 57 (1933) 362 no. 22, 58 (1934) 478f. no. 20, 23; cf. the nomen Maqwulavóş at Beroea (SEG 34 [1984] 613; Tataki no. 869).

<sup>75.</sup> CIL III 2322. 9365 (Salona); ILJug. 736 (Aequum).

<sup>76.</sup> *ILJug.* 2899; cf. *CIL* III 6434, 3; 10186, 15; 14031 (vascula cretacea from Dalmatia).

<sup>77.</sup> Demitsas 168 = BCH 58 (1934) 268 no. 108; Tataki no. 92.

<sup>78.</sup> CIL III 1945. 2503. 2951 (= ILJug. 2884). 10862; ILJug. 1895; CIL X 3618.

<sup>79.</sup> Wilson, op. cit. (n. 21) 68ff.

<sup>80.</sup> Note also e.g. that *Folii* — a rare nomen —with the same praenomen *Publius* are to be found both at Patrae (*AEp.* 1985, 777) and Thessalonica (*IGX* 2, 1, 91).

<sup>81.</sup> Cf. A. Calderini, *Aquileia* (1930) 342ff.; and observe in addition e.g. the recently published Aquileian inscriptions *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 3422a, 3422b, 3424 and 3425, all mentioning people with names definitely pointing to central and southern Italy.

would in fact not really be very surprising. That there is, or at least can sometimes be, a connection between people with the same nomina in Macedonia and Asia emerges from various indications, e.g. from the fact that some of the nomina (e.g. Agelleius) are so rare that there simply must be a connection, or from the use of the same praenomina both in Macedonia and in Asia; observe for instance that there are Turpilii with the not very frequent praenomen Aulus both at Beroea (Tataki no. 1242) and at Hierapolis (Altertümer von Hierapolis no. 196), and that the two Sat(t)ii —not a common nomen— attested at Beroea and at Cyzicus both have the praenomen Lucius (cf. below). Problems regarding the dating of individual inscriptions make it difficult to say whether the direction was generally from Macedonia to Asia or from Asia to Macedonia, but perhaps even the simple observation that there were quite frequent (as it seems) contacts of this kind between Macedonia and Asia Minor may be of some use.

In some individual cases it seems possible at least to suggest the direction of the emigration between Macedonia and Asia. For instance, the Sirtius at Mytilene is known from an inscription of Tiberian date (cf. above), whereas the one known at Dion seems to be later, and so, if it is at all permissible to connect these people with each other, the implication would seem to be that members of the gens Sirtia had come to Asia first, and had moved only from there to Macedonia. And of course one observes that quite a few people with Asian ethnics are listed in the index to IGX 2, 1 (p. 308). On the other hand, Asian Ocratii do not seem to be attested before the third century<sup>82</sup>, and so, since P. Farius Ocratianus at Beroea (the cognomen implying the existence of *Ocratii*) is dated by Tataki (*Beroea* no. 1260) "1st cent. B.C./ 1st cent. A.D.", it seems that in this case —assuming again of course that it is possible to postulate a connection—members of a certain gens had moved from Macedonia to Asia Minor. The same observation can be made regarding the *Modicii*, for the *Modicii* at Philippi are clearly much earlier than the woman of the same name the only other member of this gens in the Roman world—attested at Eumenia (cf. below).

As far as I can see, there are more than 200 nomina which one finds both in Macedonia and in Asia.

Remembering that Macedonian inscriptions offer more than 550 different Roman nomina83, the number does seem to have some significance. Of course the list also includes names which one finds everywhere, but there is also an interesting number of less familiar nomina, there being both in Macedonia and in Asia e.g. Aeficii, Alfidii, Anchareni, Artorii, Autronii, Avillii, Avonii, Bassii, Bruttii, Caerellii, Camerii, Camurii, Ceionii, Cer(r)en(n)ii, Cestii, Cottii, Curiatii, Curtii, Didii, Epidii, Folii, Fuficii, Fundani(i), Gallii, Hetereii, Larcii, Lartidii, Magnii, Modii, Mundicii, Mussii, Naevii, Novellii, Olii, Opetreii, Orfidii, Peducaei, Peticii, Pompullii, Pupii, Sabidii, Salarii, Spedii, Trebii, Turii and Venuleii. I am not saying that there is a connection in each case, but surely the coincidence may in many cases be of significance. But in addition to the names listed above there are nomina which are so rare that we simply have to postulate a connection. Let us have a look at some of them.

As we have seen, *C*. and *M*. *Agelleii* appear early at Thessalonica and on Thasos (cf. above at n. 36); but from the early empire onwards one finds *Agel(l)eii* (and *Agilleii*) also in Asia Minor, all using the praenomen Gaius<sup>84</sup>. There are *Allidii* both at Thessalonica (*IGX* 2, 1,251) and at Thyatira (*TAM* V 2, 1124)<sup>85</sup>; *Bies(s)ii* — with a nomen which one can find otherwise only at Rome, Trebula Suffenas and, in the later 2nd century, at Athens<sup>86</sup> —both at Thessalonica (*IGX* 2, 1, 58) and at Pergamon (*MDAI* [*A*] 35 [1910] 475 no. 62); *Cusonii* both at Thessalonica and at Ephesus and Cyme (cf. above

<sup>82.</sup> F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Lydische Stadtmünzen* (1897) 52, Blaundos (perhaps from the time of the emperor Philippus).

<sup>83.</sup> A. Tataki, above p. 107.

<sup>84.</sup> At Ephesus: *I.Ephesus* 907. 1002 (reign of Tiberius); *ZPE* 91 (1992) 291 no. 21 (dated to the early 1st century AD). At Hierapolis: *IGR* IV 818.

<sup>85.</sup> It should, however, be observed that there were *Allidii* on Delos (J. Hatzfeld, *BCH* 36 [1912] 12f.; *I.Délos* 1764. 2612, ii 10).

<sup>86.</sup> CIL VI 13585. 38268; Suppl. It. 4 Trebula Suffenas 29; IG II/III<sup>2</sup> 2103 (the same man, archon in 177/8, ibid. 3640 and Agora XV 398).

at n. 57); Fictorii both at Dion and Pella87 and in some unknown city perhaps in Bithynia88; Florii both at Thessalonica (IGX 2, 1, 114) and at Pergamon (Pergamon VIII 3 no.154); Hostii both at Thessalonica and Dion (IGX 2, 1, 386bis; SEG 34 [1984] 623) and at Amastris (SEG35 [1985] 1330, early 3rd century); Mariniani in the Severan period at Thessalonica (see IGX 2, 1, p. 68), this nomen implying the existence of Marinii (cf. n. 5), and Marinii somewhere in the area between Abydus and Lampsacus (MDAI [A] 9 [1884] 68); Minatii both at Thessalonica (IG X 2, 1, 68. 69) and at Hierapolis (Altertümer von Hierapolis no. 166); Minii both at Thessalonica (CIL XVI 1 [AD 52]; IG X 2, 1, 637) and at Ephesus (I. Ephesus 689, Hadrianic or later) and Hierapolis Castabala in Cilicia (JHS 11 [1890] 251 no. 26); Modicii both at Philippi during the earliest Empire (CIL III 705) and, in the second or third century, at Eumenia (AEp. 1978, 796)—and nowhere else; Ocratii both at Beroea and much later at Blaundos (cf. above at n. 82); Pinnii both at Thessalonica (IG X 2, 1, 611) and Amastris (CIL VIII 15876); Rasinii both at Philippi (AEp. 1939, 44; cf. CIL XVI 10) and somewhere in Mysia (SEG 39 [1989] 1338); Rub(b)ii both at Thessalonica and on Samothrace and at Nicomedia (cf. above at n. 38); Senatii (not a common nomen) both at Thessalonica (SEG36 [1986] 646) and at Mytilene (IG XII 2, 414); Varronii both at Philippi (BCH58 [1934] 478 no. 21, cf. no. 20) and at Pergamum (Pergamon VIII 3, no. 101); Velleii both in and around Philippi in many inscriptions and in an inscription now in Smyrna (I. Smyrna II 2 p. 359f. no. xix).

But there is one city in Asia which seems to offer more parallels with Macedonia than others, namely Cyzicus. In fact, Cyzicus reminds one especially of Thessalonica in some respects, of which the most interesting from the point of view of this paper is the fact that both cities offer a most striking collection of Roman nomina which one finds also in late inscriptions, from the second and third centuries<sup>89</sup>. Now, one encounters quite a few nomina in Cyzicus which are in fact also attested in Macedonia; according to my calculations, there are about sixty of them, which is, I think, a significant number if one considers that we are speaking of a single city in Asia where most of the

inhabitants must have been peregrini before the constitutio Antoniniana, and that we cannot know more than an extremely small part of the inscriptions which must have once existed at Cyzicus. In addition to the more common nomina common to Cyzicus and Macedonia one finds at Cyzicus also more interesting ones, e.g. Aeficii, Castricii, Curtii, Decimii, Fabricii, Fundan(i)i, Lollii, Maecii, Messii<sup>90</sup>, Mucii, Ogulnii (?)<sup>91</sup>, Paconii, Pescennii, Pinarii, Plotii, Varii and Volcacii. But Cyzicus also offers nomina which are so rare that a connection with Macedonia seems not only possible or probable, but almost certain; observe e.g. the existence of Aequani both at Thessalonica and at Cyzicus (cf. above at n. 41); or that there are Aninii both at Philippi and Dion92 and at Cyzicus (and at Pergamum and near Amorium)93, the praenomen, if attested, being Lucius both at Dion and at Cyzicus and Pergamum. Further, there are Atanii at Cyzicus (SEG40 [1990] 1128) and at Dion (J.M.R. Cormack, Mél. G. Daux [1974]52, line 22), Calveni/Calvini at Cyzicus and Thessalonica (cf. above at n. 43), Pacilii at Cyzicus (MDAI[A] 26[1901] 121ff., B,51) and at Philippi (BCH58[1934]480no.25), L. Sat(t)ii at Cyzicus (I. Kyzikos 426) and Beroea (SEG 24 [1969] 499, cf. Tataki no. 1160-61).

<sup>87.</sup> Dion: SEG 2 (1924) 389. Pella: A.M. Burnett - Amandry - P. Ripollès, Roman Provincial Coinage (1992) no. 1528-30 (Augustan); ILGR 201.

<sup>88.</sup> G. Mendel, *Musées impériaux Ottomans, Catalogue* no. 936. Many of the inscriptions in Istanbul seem to have come from Bithynia.

<sup>89.</sup> But this does not necessarily have to mean anything (cf. above at n. 24).

<sup>90.</sup> Messii seem to be attested in Asia only at Cyzicus.

<sup>91.</sup> *I. Prusa ad Olympum* 52; this inscription in some respects makes one think of Cyzicus, and I cannot help suspecting that it may in fact come from there.

<sup>92.</sup> Philippi: *CIL* III 14206, 14; *AEp.* 1950-51, 67. Dion: *AEp.* 1954, 23.

<sup>93.</sup> Cyzicus: *MDAI* (*A*) 26 (1901) 121ff., B, lines 25 and 67. Pergamum: *I. Pergamon* 374, A, 11; 485. Somewhere near Amorium: *MDAI* (*A*) 22 (1897) 34 no. 12 (but this man is a *Publius*).

#### CONTACTS BETWEEN ITALY, MACEDONIA AND ASIA MINOR DURING THE PRINCIPATE

Studying at some length the connections between the Macedonian cities and Cyzicus, the largest and most prosperous city in northwestern Asia Minor, might not be such a bad idea<sup>94</sup>, but this paper is obviously not the place to do it. What will have to suffice for the moment is the constatation that observations of an onomastic nature do seem to imply that contacts between Cyzicus and Macedo-

nia may well have been fairly close—which in fact a look at a map of the area does seem to make easily credible.

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94. I do not find entries such as "Macedonia" or "Thessalonica" in the index to D. Magie, Roman Rule in Asia Minor (1950).